

THE LIBRARY OF



ACCESSION. CLASS

BOOK

C 9717 1897

AD 10

U 10

THIRTEENTH
ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

BY ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

OCTOBER 15, 1850.

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

PHILADELPHIA:

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 31 N. FIFTH STREET,

MERRIHEW & THOMPSON, PRINTERS,

1850.

REPORT.

We present to-day the 13th Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. It is now about fourteen years since this Society was first formed, and yet slavery is not abolished, nor is it possible for any one to tell at what precise period this consummation shall be effected. To an impatient friend or captious opponent, this circumstance may furnish cause for discouragement, or ground for cavil. The one may find in it reason for distrusting the wisdom of our plan of action, and to the other it may suggest a plea against the practicability of our enterprise. A more comprehensive view, however, will present the subject in a different light. An evil which is the growth of centuries, is not to be overthrown by the labors, however faithful, of a few years. It is as true of the body politic as it is of the human system, that chronic diseases require chronic remedies. A malady contracted in infancy, which gradually infects the whole system, growing with its growth, and strengthening with its strength, is only to be eradicated by remedies which, in their time and mode of operation, bear some analogy to the manner in which it was contracted. Panaceas may be offered which will flatter the hopes of friends, and promise an immediate cure, but they will be found in the end only to disappoint expectation, and aggravate the disease. A cure in such a case, if effected at all, must be a very gradual process. It must be directed to the seat of the disease, and must have time given it to rouse the vital energies, and gradually to establish in the system a natural and healthy action. This being done, in due pro-

cess, though it may be amid many discouragements and apparent reverses, the patient will be restored to the enjoyment of health. This is true, whether the case to be treated is that of an individual, or a diseased nation. It is true we believe emphatically of our own country; and with this view of the case, it is impossible for us to see, in the fact referred to, any ground for discouragement, or reason for doubt.

OUR PROGRESS.

What if it is the fact, that this Society has been in existence for fourteen years, without having put a period to slavery, or being able to indicate precisely when that event shall be accomplished? In England a much longer period was spent before the first effectual blow was struck in a similar enterprise. Clarkson and his associates labored faithfully, upwards of twenty years, before the Act was passed for the abolition of the slave trade; and this Act when passed, left slavery in the Islands standing intact and almost unharmed. Thirty additional years were required for its complete destruction. In this country, thanks to the increased light and greater facilities of the age, we are making more rapid progress. It is not yet twenty years since Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the Clarkson of America, flung to the breeze the first sheet of the *Liberator*, bearing the memorable words,—“I will be harsh as Truth, and uncompromising as Justice.—I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retract a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.” At the time these words were uttered, the abolitionists were numerically but the merest handful. How is it now? They have increased, until they have become so great a multitude, that no man may number them. The doctrines with which they at first set out, and which in the beginning met so much opposition, are now assented to, by a large portion of the people of the North, and may be said in some measure to have the sanction of public sentiment. They have given

shape to the legislation of many States, and their influence is felt in the modification, division and reconstruction of religious sects and political parties. They have fairly roused the country, and made slavery throughout its extent the vital question of discussion. All other questions are thrown into the shade. Congress has been for the last ten months, a great Anti-Slavery debating society, and the newspapers of the country, by their reports of its proceedings, have been obliged to diffuse the light of Anti-Slavery truth through the length and breadth of the land. The territory which was acquired in a war waged for the extension of slavery, vast in extent and inestimable in the value of its resources, has been wrested from the purpose for which it was intended, and made to subserve the interests of Freedom. California is now a free state, and pours her golden treasures into the lap of liberty; while New Mexico and Utah—thanks not to any geographical law, but to the moral force of abolitionism—are in a fair way to be effectually barred against the encroachments of slavery.—These are the results in part of the fourteen years labor, in which this Society has been engaged, and with facts like these before us, instead of discouragement and distrust, we feel the fullest confidence, that the object of our efforts is in the certain course of accomplishment.

But it is not our intention at this time, to go into a general review of the Anti-Slavery cause, or to dwell at length upon its condition and prospects. We merely give this cursory glance at its general aspect by way of meeting the objections mentioned, while we pass on to the more immediate object of our inquiry, which is the recent history and present position of the movement within the bounds of our own State. Many incidents have transpired since we last presented ourselves before you, all of which might be made subjects here, of profitable comment, but the limits to which usage confines us on these occasion, forbid the mention of any other than those whose general interest

and importance makes them proper subjects of record. Of this character the most striking occurrences, have been those which have been connected with the great controversy which has agitated the nation, on the floor of Congress, and which serve to show the part which this State took in that contest.

CONGRESS.

Soon after the opening of Congress, Henry Clay, whose skill in catering to wrong and compounding with injustice, has won for him the unenviable title of "Prince of Compromisers," introduced a characteristic bill for the adjustment of existing difficulties on the slavery question. By the provisions of this bill, California was to be admitted as a sovereign State of the Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction of slavery; territorial organizations were to be provided for Utah and New Mexico, on similar conditions; territory belonging to New Mexico, estimated to comprise not less than 70,000 square miles, was to be ceded to Texas, on a claim having no shadow of just foundation; an unspecified number of millions of dollars were to be appropriated out of the national treasury to pay the debts of that State; Congress were to declare it inexpedient—while it was admitted to be constitutional—to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, except with the assent of Maryland and the people of the District, and compensation to the slaveholders; a law was to be passed—such as the mover said existed in many of the slaveholding States—prohibiting the importation of slaves into the District, for sale; and finally and mainly that "*more effectual provisions* be made by law, for the restitution and delivery of persons held to service or labor in any State, who may escape into any other state or territory of this Union," or, as Mr. Clay explained it, that "penal laws be passed imposing the *heaviest sanctions* upon the recovery of fugitive slaves and the restoration of them to their masters." This bill of

abominations was the subject of discussion in one form or another, during almost the entire session of Congress, and although defeated as a whole, its several parts, without any material alteration, were finally adopted, and are now among the laws of the land.

PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE.

While this bill was pending at Washington, a measure was introduced into our State Legislature, having the same avowed object—conciliation and compromise. It was a proposition to repeal the law against “kidnapping, &c.,” commonly known as the Anti-Slavery law of 1847. This Act which forbids all State officers, judicial or executive, aiding in the recapture of fugitive slaves, passed both Houses of the Legislature, without a dissenting voice, and was considered at the time as a fair expression of public sentiment. Its validity has never been seriously questioned, nor has any attempt been made, that we know of, to impede its operation. But a bill for the repeal of the best sections of this law was reported to the House by the Judiciary Committee, and the most zealous efforts were made by the Chairman of that committee, James M. Porter, and others, to procure its passage. No objection was urged against it on the ground that it was unconstitutional, or inconsistent with public sentiment, or incompatible with reason and humanity; all this was either expressly or tacitly conceded; but the argument against it, was: It irritates the South; the people of the slaveholding States feel aggrieved; they demand redress; they threaten dissolution; something must be done to conciliate and appease them. By abject appeals of this kind the friends of the bill, so far succeeded, as to force it through the House; though we are happy to say it went no further. It was defeated in the Senate, on a motion to take up, which was rejected by a decisive vote. The yeas and nays which we append* will show who were the advocates, and

*YEAS.—Beaumont, Biddle, Brindle, Burden, Cessna, Church, Conyngnam, Cridland, Dobbins, Downes, Dunn, Evans, Feather, Finletter

who the opponents of this infamous measure. The Act of 1847, still stands as the expression of feeling in Pennsylvania, in regard to the fugitive bondman.

It ought to be remarked in passing, that this Mr. Porter, who made himself so officious in this vile business, was a man who once enjoyed sufficient reputation for respectability to be considered worthy the honor of appointment as Counsellor to the old Pennsylvania Abolition Society. How this intelligent body should ever have been led into a blunder so gross we are unable to say, but, we take pleasure in stating that as soon as the man's character was made known by recent developments, they hastened to correct their error by striking his name from their roll.

It ought also to be mentioned that the persons who were the most active—both in the legislature and out of it—in the futile attempt made to repeal this law, all belonged to a particular class of politicians, and were generally understood to have an especial interest in the success of the measure. Their candidate for the Presidential succession in 1852 was the man who at one time, under auspices more favorable for himself, enjoyed in his party the flattering designation of "Pennsylvania's favorite son," a man who seems to have based his hopes of success in his ambitious aspirations on his readiness to cater to the South; and who—whatever his object—has certainly taken the lead of all his northern competitors in this mode of self-degradation.

Gibboney, Grier, Griffin, Guffey, Haldeman, Hastings, Hemphill, Henry, Huplet, Jackson, Klotz, Laird, M'Culloch, M'Curdy, Mark, Meyers, Molloy, Morris, Morrison, Mowry, Nickleson, Packer, Pierson, Porter, Rhey, Roberts, Robinson, Scouller, Simpson, W. A. Smith, Souder, Steward, Trone, Wells, Zerbey, M'Calmont, Speaker—50.

NAYS.—Acker, Allison, Baldwin, Bent, Bowen, Brower, David, Espy, Wm. Evans, Ewing, Flowers, Fortner, G. H. Hart, L. Hart, Hoge, Herford, Jones, Killinger, Kinkead, Leet, Leonard, Little, M'Clintock, M'Laughlin, M'Lean, Miller, Nissly, O'Neil, Powell, Reid, Rutherford, Slifer, Wm. Smith, Smyser, Steel, Stockwell, Wade, Walker, Watson, Williams—40.

‘ UNION’ MEETING—THE ‘ PENNSYLVANIAN.’

While this movement was going on in the Legislature, another, looking in the same direction and conducted by the same class of persons, was set on foot in Philadelphia. Its ostensible object was the preservation of the Federal Union, which was said to be in imminent jeopardy. The agency through which it was principally conducted was the ‘ Pennsylvanian,’ a journal understood to be the organ of the same ambitious aspirant already alluded to, and conducted by an Editor whose unscrupulousness of principle, and tact in the worst use of the Editorial pen, qualified him particularly for the duties assigned him. This man, it will be remembered, presented himself at the opening of Congress as a candidate for the clerkship in the House of Representatives, and it was generally supposed that if there was any gratitude in the southern members, or any capacity to appreciate faithful services, his election would be sure; but either from their proverbial insensibility to the claims of their slaves, or the instinctive fear that a man who could so betray the principles in which he was educated, was not to be trusted, a few of the most vigilant of the slaveholders refused to vote for him, and he was defeated. One would have supposed that a rebuff of this kind would have cured the sycophant of some of his servility, and roused within him some degree of self-respect; but it seemed to have quite a contrary influence, for, as if to establish his claims beyond the possibility of question, and under the shallow pretence of acting from principle, he redoubled his zeal on behalf of the slaveholders, and his malignant opposition to the abolitionists.—It was the paper conducted by this person that was chosen as the chief instrument in Pennsylvania for the preservation of the American Union. A call signed by persons styling themselves “ Democratic citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia” was published in its columns, earnestly inviting “ all Democrats who sustained the Democratic platform in the last campaign for the presidency,

and who are opposed to the fanatical efforts of the Free Soil and Abolition agitators to sever the Union, to meet on the 22d of February, for the purpose of taking such ground, and adopting such measures, as will promote the welfare of the country, and the prosperity of the American Union.”

While this call was in circulation, and other measures being arranged for this meeting, the Pennsylvanian was teeming with the most inflammatory appeals against the abolitionists. A pretext for these appeals was found in certain petitions which were put in circulation about this time, some of which were sent to Congress. Two of them were from Chester County and the parts adjacent of the State of Delaware, and were worded as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled :

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Delaware, believing that the Federal Constitution, in pledging the strength of the whole nation to the support of Slavery, violates the divine law, makes war upon human rights, and is grossly inconsistent with republican principles; that its attempt to unite freedom with Slavery in one body politic, has already brought upon the country great and manifold evils, and has fully proved that no such Union can exist, but by the sacrifice of freedom to the Supremacy of Slavery; respectfully ask you to devise and propose without delay, some plan for the immediate peaceful dissolution of the American Union.

Another was a memorial prepared at the Anti-Slavery office, and published in the Philadelphia Ledger, with an invitation to all persons so disposed to call and sign it. It was couched in the following language :

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled :

The undersigned, inhabitants of Philadelphia, on behalf of themselves and of a large and rapidly increasing portion of the people of Pennsylvania and other Northern States, respectfully represent, that the Union, at present subsisting between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding portions of this confederacy, is a source of grievances so numerous and oppressive, as to call for immediate measures on the part of those who have the power, for their redress. Among these

grievances, they would respectfully enumerate the following as the most pressing in their demand for correction.

I. Despite the article of the Federal Constitution, which declares that "the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," a portion of the citizens of the North, solely on account of their complexion, on visiting Southern States, are seized, thrust into prison, fined, condemned to work with felons in the chain gang, and frequently sold on the auction block as slaves.

II. Perfectly legal measures to bring these outrages to the notice of the Federal Courts are forbidden, by severe penal enactments, as in the case of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, and Hon. Henry Hubbard, who were appointed for this special purpose by the Legislature of Massachusetts, but who were driven back with insult and violence from the States to which they were sent.

III. The most sacred of all rights, that of freedom of speech and of the press, without which there can be no true liberty under any form of government, has been practically denied in a large portion of this country, and to thousands of its most respectable as well as some of its most distinguished inhabitants. It is a notorious fact, that there are but few places south of Mason and Dixon's Line where the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal, and endowed with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," can be publicly avowed and appropriately applied without imminent personal hazard.

IV. The Union, between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, and the alleged necessity of its perpetuation, is made the pretext for exorbitant and unjust demands on the part of the former, and the most degrading concessions and humiliating self-abasement on the part of the latter, begetting a spirit on the one hand of overbearing tyranny, and on the other of slavish and groveling submission; both alike inconsistent with our theory of republican equality, at variance with the best interests of a majority of the people, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions throughout the world.

V. The Compromises of the Federal Constitution are felt to be especially burdensome, because by them the people of the North are obliged: 1st, to aid the slaveholder, directly or indirectly, in recapturing his fugitive slaves: 2d, to assist, if in the judgment of the Executive, it should become necessary, to repress by force any uprising on the part of the slaves for their liberty; and 3d, to concede to

the slaveholder extraordinary political power, in the privilege of representing three-fifths of his slaves in the Electoral College and in Congress ; thus furnishing him at the same moment the motives and ability to perpetuate his system. By these compromises the people of the North are involved as partners in the support of Slavery, and made to share with the South in all the evils and responsibilities of its continuance.

To these facts as constituting grievances no longer tolerable, the undersigned invite the attention of your honorable body, and respectfully ask that if it be within your prerogative, and if in your judgment there be no other means for their redress, you will propose some plan for the peaceful separation of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States.

The two former of these petitions were presented to Congress ; the latter has not yet been, but has been extensively published through the leading newspapers of the country, North and South. These documents produced a wholesome state of excitement, and led to discussions both on the floor of Congress and elsewhere, which have been highly salutary. They were seized however with great avidity by the Pennsylvanian, and published in the columns of that paper, circumscribed with black lines, and followed by execrations to express the patriotic horror of the editor. Their signers were denounced as traitors of the blackest kind, and appeals were made to the people, which by many were considered to be calls upon them for their intervention by mob force. So general was this impression that the authorities of the city deemed it expedient to take precautionary measures, and having learned from some source that at the conclusion of the meeting to be held on the evening of the 22d, an attack would probably be made on the Anti-Slavery Office, a large police force was detailed for the preservation of that building. Happily, however, there was nothing in the public feeling that responded to the appeals which were made to it, and the meeting was held without any of the anticipated evil effects. The speakers on the occasion, as was to be expected were eloquent in their invocations to the people to save the Union from its threatened perils. They apologized for

slavery, and justified and glorified the slaveholders. They pictured the evils of disunion, and anathematized the treason of northern fanatics. One of them, a reputed slaveholder, and a son of our last Virginia President, went so far into detail as to mention the particular spot in Philadelphia, street and number, at which these disorganisers carried on their operations, and from which they published their treason.

But the audience seemed quite unmoved by the information ; and whatever other influence the meeting may have exerted, it certainly had not the effect of exciting the public against the abolitionists, or the perhaps still more desired one of helping the chances of Mr. Buchanan for the Presidency. Speeches so thoroughly adapted as those delivered on this occasion, to the meridian of Charleston or Savannah, are not the means to promote the popularity of any cause or any individual in the city of Philadelphia.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

During the winter, the executive of this State received from the governors of Virginia and Georgia, certain resolutions referring to the institution of slavery, the preservation of the Union, and complaining of certain alleged violations of the Constitution. Governor Johnson, on the 22d of March, sent these resolutions to the legislature with a message, couched in terms becoming the chief magistrate of a free state, and indicating that he for one was not to be brow-beaten by the arrogance of the slave power. In this message he affirmed the opposition of Pennsylvania to slavery so far as compatible with her constitutional obligations ; her unqualified hostility to the extension of the system ; the right of Congress to adopt the Wilmot Proviso, and its power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. He also defended the act of the legislature of 1807 as constitutional, and as justified by the circumstances which led to its adoption. Throughout the whole document the governor maintained as lofty a tone as is possible for any one acknowledging the obligations of the Federal Constitu-

tion. The people throughout the State hailed the message with delight and pride ; but the party of which we have before spoken denounced its manly tone as dictatorial and offensive to the South ; and when the question came up in the House, a motion to print 5000 copies for distribution was voted down. It was printed, however, in pamphlet form by private subscription, and by its circulation in this and other ways, did much we trust to promote a healthy tone of freedom in the commonwealth.

It ought to be stated, as a matter of justice, that while some of the Democratic papers published this document, a portion of the Whig press, either from a time-serving expediency, or want of sympathy with its manly tone, declined to let it appear in their columns.

THE LEGISLATURE ON SLAVERY EXTENSION.

On the same day that the Legislature refused to print the message, the following preamble and resolution, similar in sentiment to one adopted by the Legislature the previous winter, were postponed until "the last day of April ;" that is, they were voted down :

*"Whereas, the federal constitution was formed and adopted expressly to secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States and their posterity :

And whereas, it is indicated by the Governor's Message and the resolutions of various of the slaveholding States, and by the representatives of such States in Congress that it is their determination, if possible, to extend domestic slavery over the territory acquired by the late treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico ; Therefore

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, That we deem it our duty to make known in this solemn manner our determination to oppose, by all constitutional means, the extension of slavery over territory now free ; and our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives are requested to resist all attempts to extend slavery over any part of such territory, however small, and to oppose the admission of any new States into the Union, unless slavery or involuntary servitude shall be excluded therefrom."

The reasons for the refusal to pass this resolution were the same

substantially, we believe, as those given for not printing the message; a craven fear of offending the South and an unprincipled desire for conciliation. We append on this question also the yeas and nays for the sake of future reference :*

These several circumstances which we have recounted, independent of the interest which they have in themselves, will show to some extent the feeling prevailing in Pennsylvania on the general subject of slavery, and will also indicate the influences brought to bear from this quarter upon the settlement of the great question agitating the nation at Washington.

PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION IN CONGRESS.

It will not be amiss in this connection, to glance at the course pursued on the floor of Congress by the delegates sent to that body from Pennsylvania. *Delegates* is perhaps a better term than representatives, for we are not sure that on the subject of slavery, the senators and members at Washington fairly represent the feeling that prevails in this community. In the case of the senators, it is quite certain they do not. By what strange accident D. B. STURGEON ever obtained a seat in that body, or by what stranger concurrence of circumstances he has managed to retain it, we are unable to say; certain it is that it is a source of deep mortification to persons interested in the

*The vote to postpone stood as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Brindle, Cessna, Conyngham, Cridland, Dobbins, Downer, Dunn, David Evans, John C. Evans, Feather, Finletter, Gibboney, Grier, Griffin, Guffey, Haldeman, Hastings, Hemphill, Henry, Huplet, Jackson, Klotz, Laird, M'Culloch, M'Curdy, Marx, Meek, Myers, Molloy, Morris, Morrison, Mowry, Nickleson, Packer, Pier-son, Rhey, Roberts, Robinson, Scouler, Shaffner, Simpson, William A. Smith, Souder, Steward, Trone, Zerby—46.

NAYS—Messrs. Acker, Allison, Baker, Baldwin, Bent, Biddle, Bowen, Brower, Burden, Cornyn, David, Espey, Wm. Evans, Ewing, Fort-ner, Flowers, George H. Hart, Leffert Hart, *Hoge*, Hereford, Kinkead, Leonard, Lewis, Little, *M'Clintock*, M'Laughlin, McLean, Miller, Niss-ly, O'Niell, Powell, Reid, Rutherford, *Scotfield*, Slifer, Wm. Smith, Smyser, Steel, *Stockwell*, Wade, Walker, *Wells*, Williams, *M'Calmont*, Speaker—45.

The names in italics are the Democrats who voted against post-ponement.

honor of the State, that one so destitute of all proper qualification should occupy that distinguished position. Mr. Sturgeon, however—it ought to be mentioned to his credit—seems, as a general thing, to have been duly sensible of his incompetency, for during the twelve years in which he has been a member of the Senate, he has, with slight exceptions, maintained a profound silence—thus allowing his constituents a temporary oblivion of their misfortune. But on two occasions—one at the opening and the other now at the close of his senatorial career—he so far forgot himself as to undertake to speak ; the consequence was of course, he exposed himself and mortified those whom he was understood to represent. The moving cause of his imprudence in both these instances, seems to have been his jealous regard for the South and respect for her institutions. It is humiliating to think that such a person should for so long a time have been the senatorial representative in Congress of the State of Pennsylvania.

In MR. COOPER, our other senator, the State seems to be scarcely less unfortunate. Mr. Cooper is a man of more talent than his colleague, but, judging from his recent course, of no more principle. By his professions in a humbler sphere, he excited some expectation among the hopeful, that when elected to the Senate, he would avail himself of the opportunities that would then be afforded him of doing something for the cause of freedom. At a political meeting held in Kennett Square the fall before his election, Mr. Cooper, speaking of the Wilmot proviso, is represented as holding the following language : “ Dearly as I love this Union—and I am as strongly attached to it as any other man can be—rather than abandon this principle, or see slavery extended over one inch of free territory, I would see the Union dashed into ten thousand pieces, and ruin written upon every separate fragment.” Yet this same Mr. Cooper was the first man in Congress from Pennsylvania to give his voice and vote for a bill which repudiated the Proviso, and gave up to slavery 70,000 square miles of free territory, with ten millions of dollars into the

bargain. Such is the difference between profession and practice; between pledges before the election and fulfilment afterwards; between Senator Cooper and an honest man.

Of our members in the House we are happy to be able to make a better report; though even here are found among our delegation persons better qualified to represent a South Carolina constituency or some of the dark districts in Alabama or Mississippi, than a people living in the light and surrounded by the institutions of free Pennsylvania. Of this class particularly is the gentleman who represents the district comprising the counties of Lehigh and Bucks. In April last Mr. Ross, the gentleman alluded to, made a speech in his place, in which, among other similar things, he is reported as declaring, that Congress had no right to legislate for the prohibition of slavery in the territories, but had a right to make laws for its protection there; that the North had been guilty of aggressions upon the South, which had been altogether unprovoked; and as innocently asking, "When has the South ever aggressed upon the North?" and as if to make good his claim and that of his party upon the slaveholders for their favor, he is represented as thus continuing:

"Sir, if the Democratic party had not taken a bold, but perhaps *doubtful constitutional ground*, it would have been something more than aggression—it would have been cold-blooded massacre. The South would have been lighted up with the conflagration of her cities and towns; and the air would have resounded with the dying shrieks of her women and children; blood would have flowed in torrents, and the war of extermination would have been carried on, until half the States of this Confederacy had been desolated, if not entirely depopulated. But the Democratic party saved the country from so direful a calamity. The peril to the South was imminent, and required prompt and energetic action. A bill was passed empowering postmasters in the Southern States to open the mail bags, and take out the incendiary publications, which the Abolitionists were secretly circulating throughout the Southern country. It was only by these means that a servile insurrection was prevented, and the domestic tranquillity of the South in some measure secured."

Now we submit that a man who has no more principle than

to justify an outrage like that of plundering the U. S. mail, and no more sense than to boast of the part his political associates took in that transaction, is not fit to be trusted either with the honor of a respectable constituency or the interests of his own party.

Similar in character, though less indiscreet in speech, is the member from Erie county, Mr. JAMES THOMPSON. To this gentleman the slaveholders are indebted instrumentally for the passage of the bill for the recapture of fugitive slaves. By making a speech in its favor, then moving the previous question to cut off debate, then moving for a reconsideration after the bill had passed, and then moving to lay his own motion to reconsider on the table, Mr. Thompson secured for himself the infamy, and his State the disgrace, of forcing through the House the most atrocious bill that ever received the sanction of that body.

We are sorry to add that Mr. Thompson was not the only man from Pennsylvania that shared the infamy of this transaction. The yeas and nays which we herewith give,* will

* In the Senate, the vote on engrossment was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Davis of Miss., Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Downes, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum, Mason, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Soule, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Wales, Yulee—27.

NAYS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradbury, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Mass., Dayton, Dodge of Wis., Greene, Smith, Upham, Walker and Winthrop,—12.

ABSENT, or not Voting—Messrs. Benton, Borland, Bright, Clarke, Clay, Cass, Clemens, Dickinson, Douglass, Ewing, Felch, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Morton, Norris, Phelps, Pratt, Seward, Shields, Whitcomb—21.

The only ayes from the free States were A. C. Dodge, and Jones, both of Iowa.

On the final passage, the ayes and nays were not called, the fate of the bill having been decided by the vote on engrossing. But Senator Dickinson rose in his seat, and stated his reasons for thinking the bill should pass, and avowed his intention to vote in the affirmative.

It will be noticed that among the ayes are Messrs. Spruance and Wales of Delaware, from whom better things might have been expected—from the latter particularly. Mr. Wales till he went to the Senate, made strong professions of anti-slavery. He seems to have changed with his circumstances.

show that five other members equally base, though less conspicuous, recorded their votes in favor of this bill.

The vote in the House, on the final passage of the bill, was as follows:

AYES—Messrs. *Albertson*, *Alston*, *Anderson*, *Ashe*, *Averett*, *Bay*, *Bayly*, *Beale*, *Bissell*, *Bowdon*, *Bowie*, *Bowlin*, *Boyd*, *Breck*, *Brown*, *Miss.*; *Brown*, *Ind.*; *Buel*, *Burt*, *Caldwell*, *N. C.*; *Caldwell*, *Ky.*; *Clingman*, *Cobb*, *Ala.*; *Colcock*, *Daniel*, *Deberry*, *Dimmick*, *Dunham*, *Edmondson*, *Eliot*, *Ewing*, *Featherstone*, *Fuller*, *Gerry*, *Gilbert*, *Gorman*, *Green*, *Hall*, *Hamilton*, *Haralson*, *Harris*, *Tenn.*; *Harris*, *Ala.*; *Harris*, *Ill.*; *Haymond*, *Hibbard*, *Hilliard*, *Hoagland*, *Holladay*, *Holmes*, *Houston*, *Howard*, *Hubbard*, *Inge*, *Jackson*, *Ga.*; *Johnson*, *Ark.*; *Jones*, *Kauffman*, *Kerr*, *La Sere*, *Lesfler*, *Littlefield*, *Mann*, *Pa.*, *Marshall*, *Mason*, *McClernand*, *McDonald*, *McGaughey*, *McLanahan*, *McLean*, *Ky.*; *McMullen*, *McQueen*, *McWille*, *Meade*, *Miller*, *Millson*, *Morton*, *Orr*, *Outlaw*, *Owen*, *Parker*, *Peaslee*, *Phelps*, *Powell*, *Richardson*, *Robbins*, *Ross*, *Savage*, *Seddon*, *Sheppard*, *Stanly*, *Stanton*, *Tenn.*; *Stanton*, *Ky.*; *Taylor*, *Thomas*, *Thompson*, *Miss.*; *Thompson*, *Pa.*, *Thompson*, *Ky.*; *Toombs*, *Venable*, *Walden*, *Wallace*, *Watkins*, *Wellborn*, *Wildrick*, *Williams*, *Woodward*, *Young*—109.

NAYS—Messrs. *Alexander*, *Allen*, *Baker*, *Bennet*, *Bingham*, *Booth*, *Briggs*, *Burrows*, *Butler*, *Ct.*; *Cable*, *Ohio*; *Calvin*, *Campbell*, *Carter*, *Chandler*, *Cole*, *Corwin*, *Crowell*, *Dickey*, *Disney*, *Dixon*, *Doty*, *Duncan*, *Durkee*, *Evans*, *Ohio*; *Fitch*, *Fowler*, *Freedley*, *Giddings*, *Gott*, *Gould*, *Halloway*, *Hampton*, *Harlan*, *Hay*, *Hebard*, *Henry*, *Howe*, *Hunter*, *Jackson*, *N. J.*; *Julian*, *King*, *R. I.*, *King*, *N. J.*; *Jno. A. King*, *Preston King*, *Mann*, *Mass.*; *Mattison*, *McKissock*, *Meacham*, *Moore*, *Morris*, *Nelson*, *Otis*, *Pitman*, *Putnam*, *Reed*, *Robinson*, *Root*, *Rumsey*, *Sackett*, *Sawtell*, *Schermerhorn*, *Schoolcraft*, *Silvester*, *Sprague*, *Stevens*, *Pa.*; *Stetson*, *Thurman*, *Tuck*, *Underhill*, *Vinton*, *Waldo*, *Wentworth*, *Whittlesey*, *Wood*, *Wright*—75.

ABSENT OR NOT VOTING.

Northern Democrats—*Cleveland*, *Gillmore*, *Wilmot*, *Olds*, *Potter*, *Strong*, *Sweetzer*, *Thompson of Iowa*—8.

Southern Democrats—*Bocock*, *Hacket*, *Harmanson*, *Hammond*, *McDowell*, *McLane*, *Morse*—7.

Southern Whigs—*Cabell*, *Evans of Maryland*, *Morehead*—3.

Total absent or not voting—18.

TOTAL VOTE FROM FREE STATES IN FAVOR OF THE BILL.

Democrats—*Maine*—Messrs. *Fuller*, *Gerry*, *Littlefield*—3.

New Hampshire—Messrs. *Hibbard*, *Peaselee*—2.

New York—Mr. *Walden*—1.

New Jersey—Mr. *Wildrick*—1.

PENNSYLVANIA—Messrs. *DIMMICK*, *JOB MANN*, *McLANAHAN*, *ROBBINS*, *ROSS*, and *JAMES THOMPSON*—6.

Ohio—Mr. *J. K. Miller*—1.

Indiana—Messrs. *Albertson*, *Wm. J. Brown*, *Dunham*, *Gorman*, *McDonald*—5.

Illinois—Messrs. *Bissell*, *T. L. Harris*, *McClernand*, *Richardson*, *Young*—5.

Nevertheless, discreditable as this fact is to the State, we are happy to say, that on the whole, the delegation from Pennsylvania is greatly in advance of what it was in former years. Her number of serviles is smaller, and among the men who represent her interests, are to be found some of the ablest and boldest friends of freedom on the floor of Congress. The speeches of THADDEUS STEVENS have not been excelled by any that have ever been uttered in that body. They have been bold, well timed, and of masterly ability; and their efficacy has been proved by the writhing which they produced among the slaveholders at the South and their Northern abettors. Mr. Stevens was the first man that every fairly stated in Congress the real issue before the country on the slavery question, and put the responsibility for the existence and continuance of this evil on the shoulders of the proper parties.

"In my judgment," said he, "not only the Slave States, but the General Government, recognizing slavery as it does, is a despotism. The slaves of America lie under the most absolute and grinding despotism that the world ever saw. . . . But who are the despots? The rulers of the country—the sovereign people! Not merely the slaveholder who cracks the lash. He is but the instrument in the hands of despotism. That despotism is the government of the slave States, and the United States; consisting of all its rulers—*all the free citizens*. Do not look upon this as a paradox, because you and I, and the sixteen millions of rulers are free. Nicholas, of Russia, is free. The Grand Sultan of Turkey is free. The butcher of Austria is free. Augustus, Anthony, and

Michigan—Mr. A. W. Buel—1

Iowa—Mr. Leffler—1.

California—Mr. Gilbert—1. Total 27.

Whigs—Messrs. Eliot, of Mass.; McGaughey, of Ind.; John D. Taylor, of Ohio—Total 3.

Total Ayes from free states, 30.

Mr. Webster made a speech in the Senate, in favor of the bill, just before he was promoted to the Cabinet, and President Fillmore supported it by his influence, while it was under discussion, and made it law by his signature.

Lepidus were free while they drowned Rome in blood. The Thirty Tyrants, the Four Hundred, the Three Thousand, were free while they bound their country-men in chains. You, and I, and the sixteen millions are free, while we fasten iron chains, and rivet manacles on four millions of our fellow men; tear their wives and children from them; separate them; sell them and doom them to perpetual, eternal bondage. Are we not then despots—despots such as history will brand and God abhor?"

How Mr. Stevens can deliberately occupy a position which in his own judgment, exposes him to the brand of history, and the abhorrence of God, is for him, not for us to say; suffice it for our purpose, that with rare eloquence and unprecedented frankness, he states to Congress and the nation, that not the Slave-owners of the South merely, but all citizens of the United States, are parties equally responsible for the existence, and chargeable with the guilt of slavery. That he, Mr. Stevens himself, and every other man who, like him, supports the Constitution of the United States, is a despot, and such a despot as "history will brand and God abhor."

The course of Mr. WILMOT, during this session, has been creditable to himself and his constituency, and has shown him to be not unworthy the honor which circumstances have attached to his name. Yielding neither to menace nor persuasion, he maintained his position with firmness, and seemed to grow more decided in his opposition, both to the violence and arts of the slaveholders.

Credit is also due to Mr. HOWE, the member from the Westmoreland district, for manliness and fidelity to his trust. He was elected as a Free Soiler, and as such, it is true, had no party inducements to betray his principles: but still, in these times, of treachery, when defection is the rule, and faithfulness the exception, every instance of fidelity should be acknowledged, and recorded as a matter of historical interest. In this view, Mr. Howe deserves to be held in honorable remembrance.

Mr. H. D. MOORE of 3d district of Philadelphia, and Mr.

DICKEY, of Chester County, though less conspicuous, are not less worthy of respectful mention. Neither of these gentlemen are much distinguished as public speakers, but the yeas and nays on all questions involving the interests of freedom, showed that their vote was given on the right side.

The rest of the Pennsylvania delegation occupy positions at different distances between Messrs. Thompson and Ross on the one hand, and the gentlemen last named on the other. These intermediate gentlemen are loud in their professions of attachment to liberty, and bold to make their practice square with their professions—when they can do so without cost; but when their own interests or those of their party demand some concession they heroically meet the requirement, and with a grace peculiar to themselves, claim credit for having performed an act of patriotic duty. Of this class, is the representative of the 2d Congressional district of Philadelphia, Mr. JOS. R. CHANDLER, who, before the election, declared himself “uncompromisingly opposed to slavery,” and determined to use his “influence, and give his vote against any bill which might authorize its extension over one inch of free territory,” but who, in the Texas and New Mexico bill, voted to repudiate the Wilmot proviso, and to give up 70,000 square miles of free territory, and \$10,000,000 for the benefit of slavery. Such persons as these may possibly have the approbation of a majority of their constituents, but they show themselves to be men without principle, and utterly undeserving the confidence of any true friend of freedom.

But enough on this point. Whatever may have been the advances made by the Pennsylvania delegation, and however noble may have been the bearing of some of its individual members, the mortifying confession must be made, that in the recent contest, it furnished men enough to carry every measure demanded by the slaveholders.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

Among the measures thus demanded was one which, from

its inherent atrocity, and the effect which it is calculated to have on Pennsylvania as a border state, deserves something more than a passing notice. We allude, of course, to the Fugitive Slave Bill. By the provisions of this bill—

“1. The United States Commissioners are authorized and required to discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this act. 2, 3 and 4. The second, third and fourth sections provide that the Superior Court of each territory of the United States shall have power to appoint commissioners with the same authority as that possessed by United States Commissioners, who are to be invested with concurrent jurisdiction in relation to fugitives, with the judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States. 5. Marshals and Deputies are required to execute all warrants and precepts, or other processes for the arrest and detention of fugitives, under penalty of a fine of \$1000 for the use of the claimant of such fugitive; and in case of the escape of such fugitive from the custody of a Marshal, with or without his knowledge or connivance, said Marshal is to be liable to a prosecution for the full value of such fugitive. The Commissioners have also power to appoint suitable persons from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other processes needful for the arrest and detention of fugitives, with power to call on the *posse comitatus* for assistance, if needed. 6. The owner, or attorney of any owner, of any fugitive slave is authorized to seize such fugitive with or without warrant or process, and take him before the commissioner, whose duty it shall be to determine the case in a summary manner; and on proof, by deposition or affidavit, or other satisfactory testimony, of the escape and identity of said fugitive, and of the right of said claimant to the services of said fugitive, the commissioner shall make out and deliver to said claimant, a certificate, setting forth the substantial facts of the case, with authority to use necessary force and restraint to take and remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he has escaped. The testimony of the fugitive is in no case to be admitted. 7. Any person who shall knowingly hinder the arrest of a fugitive, or shall conceal him, or attempt to rescue him after arrest, or assist such fugitive, directly or indirectly to escape, shall be liable to a fine of \$1,000 and six months imprisonment, and to suit for damages of \$1,000 for each fugitive lost to his owner by said obstruction or rescue, the same to be recovered by civil process. 8. This section relates to fees, &c., to be paid those concerned in the arrest of fugitives.

9. In case a rescue is apprehended, after the delivery of a fugitive to his master, the officer who effected the arrest may be required to

take the slave to the place from whence he escaped, and to employ, at the expense of the U. S. Treasury, as many persons as may be necessary to prevent a rescue until he can be delivered to his master in the State from which he fled. 10. The last section prescribes that on the escape of a slave, the master, or his attorney, may make satisfactory proof to such court or judge, in vacation, of his ownership of an escaped slave, whereupon the court are required to issue an authenticated copy of said testimony, with a description of the person of the fugitive, and this authenticated testimony being exhibited to any judge, commissioner or other officer authorized to act in the premises, shall be held as conclusive evidence of the escape of said slave, and the claimant's right to said fugitive, who shall be delivered up on this testimony to his master or his master's attorney."

This bill has since been signed by the President, Millard Fillmore—to his lasting infamy be it recorded—and is now a law of the land. Without qualification, a more diabolical law never stained the Statute Book of any country. What action should be taken in reference to it by the abolitionists of Pennsylvania, and what measures adopted to defeat its purpose, and makes its existence, if possible, redound to the promotion of Anti-Slavery, will be proper subjects of inquiry at the present meeting. There is one point, however, in regard to which, there can be no debate, and which we may safely assume as settled, and that is, that *this law shall receive not the least respect from abolitionists*. We avow our purpose beforehand, to disobey it in its spirit, and its letter. It is a gross violation of the Law of Heaven, and before God is null and void. It forbids what God requires, and it requires what He forbids; to obey it would be rebellion against the Most High. We openly repudiate it, and publicly declare our purpose at all times, and in all places, to set it at defiance. This, we believe to be the duty of all true abolitionists and all true men. We believe, moreover, that if this view be taken of it by our friends generally, and reduced to practice, it will not be long till the law becomes a nullity, and the system of slavery itself, which it was designed to protect, made to pay the forfeit of its enactment in its accelerated destruction.

We do not look upon the passage of this law as such an unmixed calamity as some at first sight may have regarded it. We find something to console us, even in the excess of its wickedness. The worse it is, the better it is. The more atrocious its provisions, the more clearly will the people see the still greater atrocity of the system which it is designed to protect, and the more readily will they be aroused to do and dare for its overthrow.

There is another view in which we find something to solace us, in the passage of this iniquitous Act; and that is, that it will open the eyes of the people to the obligations of the Constitution, and show what are now the real bulwarks of American slavery. Driven from their outposts and all their intermediate defences, the champions of the system have been obliged to fly to the Constitution, and to cling to its pillars for protection. This, hereafter, is to be the scene of conflict; here the battle is to be fought between the forces of Freedom and Slavery.

Atrocious as is the act just passed for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, it is not essentially more atrocious than the provision of the constitution on which it is based. The one illustrates and is meant to carry out the other. If a law specifying the mode and furnishing the appliances for the delivering up of fugitive slaves is infamous, the clause in the constitution which requires that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up is also infamous. If it is base to support the one it is base to support the other. If the one should be denounced and repudiated as an anti-slavery duty, the other should be treated in the same way as a duty equally obvious.

Inasmuch therefore as this law, by the atrocity of its provisions exhibits the diabolical character, of slavery in a manner calculated to increase the indignation of the people against the whole system; and inasmuch as by its essential constitutionality, it tends to make this indignation available by showing

the people where the system may be the most effectually attacked, we find a good deal to console, as well as much to grieve us, in its passage. Its effect in the long run, we are confident, will be to frustrate its own object and hasten the downfall of slavery. While it is true the "wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God," it is equally true that God can make the "wrath of man to praise him, while the remainder of wrath he doth restrain?"

THE NEW COLONIZATION SCHEME.

It is a fact worthy of notice, and one which may be properly mentioned here, that almost simultaneously with the introduction of the fugitive slave bill in Congress, was a project started for the revival of the old scheme of colonization. Early in the session, a certain Judge Bryan, of Alabama, memorialized Congress for authority on the part of himself and "his associates" to establish a line of African mail-steamers, to run between New Orleans and other American sea-ports, and Liberia; one of the principal objects of which it was professed, should be the suppression of the African slave trade. Mr. Webster in his infamously memorable speech of the 7th of March, indirectly but strongly lent his support to this movement.—A few years since, it may be remembered, Mr. Webster, in declining to act on a committee appointed at a colonization meeting in Boston, said emphatically :

"I understand the whole project. *It is a scheme of the slaveholders to get rid of their free negroes: I will have nothing to do with it.*"

But in his recent speech, he held the following language :

"If any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme of colonization, to be carried on by this government upon a large scale for the transportation of free colored people to any colony or to any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of exp. use to accomplish that object.

There have been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands ceded by Virginia, If the residue should be sold at the same rate, the whole aggregate will exceed two hundred millions of dollars. If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the Government pay them any sum of money out of its proceeds which may be adequate to the purpose."

The tendency of this speech was to prepare Congress to look with favor upon the project of Judge Bryan, and in the course of the session the naval committee, to whom it was referred, reported in favor of its adoption. They recommended that \$2,400,000 in five per cent. stock, with a credit of thirty years, be advanced to Judge Bryan and his associates for the construction of three mail steamers, to sail alternately every month from New Orleans, Baltimore, and New York; that the contractors shall receive \$40,000 for each trip made; that the American Colonization Society shall have the privilege of sending at each voyage of one of these steam ships, as many as 4000 free colored emigrants at \$10 apiece for adults and \$5 apiece for children; and that the government shall have power to take any and all of said steam ships for war purposes by paying cost of construction and a commission of ten per centum. The whole affair is an ill concealed attempt to give the support of the government to the scheme of the American Colonization Society, and to fill the pockets of a few bold speculators out of the national treasury, under the pretense of building up the Navy, and suppressing the African slave-trade. It finds favor with the slaveholders at the South, because it promises to rid them of an element dangerous to the safety of their institution, and pleases the negro haters at the North by proposing to deliver them from the objects of their aversion. Viewed in any light, it deserves nothing but execration and opposition from every true friend of the colored man. It proposes at each monthly trip of its steamers to carry out to Africa 4000 free negroes, that is 48,000 a year. How such a

number is to be induced to go, whether by coercion or persuasion, is not stated, but from the circumstance of its coming, as it does, hand in hand with the law for the recapture of fugitive slaves, and sustained as it is by the men who were active in the passage of that measure, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some degree of force, direct or indirect, is ultimately contemplated. There is such a thing as compelling people to volunteer; an expedient which the Colonization Society very well understand. Laws have been passed under the influence of that Society, increasing the burdens and diminishing the privileges of the free people of color, with the hope of inducing them to emigrate; but thus far, thank heaven, they have most signally failed of their purpose. Our colored friends have until this time been proof equally against the persuasions and the persecutions of their oppressors, and that they are now going to change either their feelings or their course of action on this subject, we have not the least reason to believe. They have with remarkable unanimity opposed the American Colonization Society from the beginning, and denounced every project that contemplated their removal from this country; declaring their purpose never to leave the soil of their nativity, nor forsake their brethren in bondage. In this they are clearly right, and deserve to receive the support of all true friends of freedom. Let them maintain their position, and this new scheme for their expatriation will fail as signally as all others that have gone before it.

THE CHURCH.

In the review which we have thus far taken of the occurrences of the past year, it will be noticed that our attention has been confined almost exclusively to those which have transpired in the political field. Our reason has been that these have been of the most intrinsic importance and interest, and besides have been better calculated than any others we could have mentioned, to exhibit the progress of the cause in this State, and the position which parties and the people sus-

tain in regard to it. We have usually devoted a considerable portion of our space to movements made in the church and the course pursued by the clergy, but the part which the church and clergy have taken on the slavery question during the past year, and the influence which they have exerted have been so unimportant, that we hardly think it worth while on this occasion to make them the subject of any extended consideration. The power of the American church, once so great, is now materially diminished. She no longer exercises the controlling influence on this subject she once did on the public mind. She is the creature more than the creator of public sentiment. It has at any time been in her power, in the language of Albert Barnes, "to revolutionize the whole public sentiment of the country, and to hasten the hour when in the United States and her territories the last shackle of the slave should fall," but this power she has always refused to exercise. On the contrary she has availed herself of it to check the progress of abolitionism, and to procrastinate the day of the slave's redemption. In the language of the same writer she has been "the most efficient of all the supports of the system." But her power to give security to the slaveholder has been broken. Through the faithfulness of the abolitionists such an exposure has been made of the falseness of her pretensions, of the hypocrisy and utter apostacy of her character, that her hold upon the public conscience has been weakened, and her capacity for mischief greatly diminished. The opposition which she now makes to anti-slavery progress, is rather passive than active, and, therefore, besides being less formidable, from its barrenness of incident does not really possess sufficient material for the usual amount of comment. There have been some movements, however, in different religious bodies in this State during the year we are reviewing, which ought not to be passed over in silence.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CONVENTION which met in Philadelphia last year, it will be remembered, refused to admit

on their floor a colored representation. The question had come up on petition of the "African church of St. Thomas," praying that a certain rule entitled the "Eighth revised regulation," which excludes that church from seats in the convention, might be repealed. This petition was afterward referred to a committee of five, with instructions to report upon it at the next convention. Accordingly this year the subject came up in order, and two reports were produced, one for and the other against the petition. The majority report declared :

"That it was inexpedient to rescind the eighth revised regulation—and that the African church of St. Thomas is not entitled to seats in the convention of the church. That the regulation was adopted in 1795, two years after the organization of said church—and was again brought up in 1842, and sustained. The church of St. Thomas was organized two years previous to the passage of the regulation, and had it not been for peculiar circumstances, might have had a place in the convention, and would have been placed on the same footing with other churches—but *their color, physical and social condition and education rendered them unfit to sit in legislative bodies.* The committee would like to see the question settled at once and forever, and therefore offer the following resolution :

"Resolved, That it is inexpedient to repeal the 'eighth revised regulation,' and the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.'"

This report was sustained, and the resolution it recommended adopted by a vote of 44 clerical and 50 lay delegates, to 42 clerical and 17 lay members against it. So the "Eighth revised regulation" was retained, and the church of St. Thomas is still excluded from a representation in the convention.

This, it will be remembered, is the action of a church claiming to be in direct apostolic succession from the men who taught that God is no respecter of persons, and that He made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth. It is done, too, to members of their own body, to persons on whom their own Bishop has laid "holy hands," and whom they profess to regard as brethren in the Lord. It is done in the noon of the 19th century, when poli-

tical parties and people of the world are repenting of their injustice to the colored man, and beginning to redress his wrongs. It is done on a pretext which is slanderously unfounded, and which if true would only aggravate the cruelty and injustice of the act. To call a church guilty of such conduct and manifesting such a spirit an Apostolic church, would be to utter a libel on the apostles, and to treat with contempt the Gospel which they preached.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS is a religious body in which the abolitionists of Pennsylvania feel a good deal of interest; partly because many of their number have been brought up within its pale and are still among its members, and partly because of the historical position which this body sustains to the anti-slavery movement. The Society was once in fact, as it still is in form, an anti-slavery society, and much effort has been made on the part of some of its best members to induce it to maintain its ancient character by making its practice conform to its professions. The failure of these efforts has been a source of general regret among the friends of the cause, and with ourselves a subject of frequent animadversion. As the justice of our statements on these occasions has sometimes been called in question, and the charge been made that they proceeded from feelings of enmity to the Society, we propose at this time to bear no testimony ourselves, but to let others speak, who can be charged with no such hostile bias, and who occupy a position which, if it does not give them a right to speak, at least entitles them to a respectful hearing.

Daniel Webster in a public letter defending his inhuman speech of the 7th of March, in which he had argued at length the duty to return fugitives from slavery, and expressed his approbation of Mr. Mason's bill, declaring his purpose to support it "with all its provisions to the fullest extent," holds the following language :

"No people are more opposed to slavery than the people of Pennsylvania. We know, especially, that that great and respectable part of her population, the Friends, have borne their testimony against it from the first. Yet they create no excitement; they seek not to-

overthrow or undermine the constitution of their country. They know that firmness, steadiness of principle, a just moderation, and unconquerable perseverance are the virtues, the practice of which is most likely to correct whatever is wrong in the constitution of the social system. No doubt there are sometimes to be found Friends subject to the frailty of desiring to become conspicuous, or to the influence of a false sentimentality, or borne away into an atmosphere flickering between light and darkness, by the puffs of the transcendental philosophy. But that is not a malady of the great body. They remain of sound and disposing minds and memories.

"I am misled by authority which ought not to mislead, if it be not true that that great body approves the sentiments to which I have given utterance on the floor of the Senate."

Nothing that abolitionists have said in condemnation of the Society of Friends is to be compared with this in severity. And be it remembered the allegation here made does not come from an enemy, but from a professed friend, and is introduced as the climax of a high wrought compliment. Besides, it professes to be made on authority. Mr. Webster speaks as from the book. He says, "if it is not true, then is he misled by authority which ought not to mislead." Now whether it is true or not is a question on which we have no need on this occasion to take sides; all we have to say is, that the mere existence of such a question, and the fact that it is not yet authoritatively settled, should alone be sufficient to overwhelm every member of the Society of Friends with shame and confusion of face.

It is due, perhaps, to the Friends to state, that the allegation conveyed in Mr. Webster's compliment is denied on the part of both divisions of that body, and that in a way which some regard as authoritative. The *Friends' Intelligencer* is indignant at the imputation, and devotes several of its columns to an effort to repel it. But it is due also to truth to say, that the *Intelligencer* is not authorized to speak for the Society; and even if it were, it does not furnish a single fact from any recent action of the Society in disproof of the charge. It is true it makes out quite a good case in favor of the *Orthodox* Friends, by showing that the Representative Commit-

tee of that body, took an active part by memorials and other means, in securing the passage and afterwards preventing the repeal of the law of 1847—but of what avail is this to the Society to which the *Intelligencer* belongs? It is true, also, as is alleged, that members of the Society have from the beginning belonged to the old Pennsylvania Abolition Society—an institution existing for the benefit of free people of color, and persons illegally held in bondage; and it might have been added with equal truth and greatly more plausibility, that a much larger number are now active members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society—an organization whose radical opposition to the doctrines of Mr. Webster's speech no one doubts; but unless it can be shown that such membership and activity, has the approbation and encouragement of Friends, what does it amount to in the question at issue? It may be true in addition that it has been the practice of members of the Society of Friends to aid the flying bondman and help him on his way; but except in the extent to which it is carried, the question may be asked: "What have ye done more than others—have not even the publicans done the same?" Is it not a notorious fact that among the admirers of Mr. Webster are many who in times past have not hesitated to give a helping hand to the fugitive, and who would now consider themselves disgraced by aiding personally to carry this new law into practice?

We repeat, therefore, that though the allegation of Mr. Webster is denied, the question of its truth or falsity is not yet settled, and that this fact of itself, constitutes one of the severest reflections that could be uttered upon the Society.

It has already been stated incidentally of ORTHODOX FRIENDS that their Representative Committee, took an active part in procuring the passage and preventing the repeal of the law of 1847. This was very much to their credit, and we should have been glad to consider it an index to the feelings of the Society on this particular subject, and on the subject of

slavery generally; but we are prevented from doing so by a recent editorial article, published in the journal, which is generally considered to speak the sentiments of that Society. In the *Friend* of the 14th of September appeared an article containing the following paragraph:

“The year which is now closing upon ‘*The Friend*,’ has been unusually eventful. The death of our upright chief magistrate, the closing years of whose life proved that his countrymen were not mistaken in attributing to him great talents for the administration of affairs, and equal firmness of purpose and integrity of character, threw a gloom over the whole land. That gloom was heightened by the critical situation of our country—the threats of disunion and separation, the bitter feuds of extreme partizans and ambitious demagogues in Congress, and the violent excitement of certain parties in the Southern sections of the Union. After a long and obstinate struggle, a milder and more conciliating spirit has prevailed; and, however the sacrifices made may be regretted in themselves, no true lover of his country can otherwise than rejoice, if thereby the inestimable blessings of Peace and Union and Harmony shall have been secured.”

There are several features in this paragraph deserving attention. There is,

First, the encomium it contains upon General Taylor. This distinguished warrior and slaveholder is eulogised for his “uprightness,” his “integrity” and his “great talents for the administration of affairs.” There is no intimation that he had ever in his life shed a drop of human blood, or been the owner of a single slave;—or indeed that he was not in all respects a man who in his life and actions was a model for universal imitation.

Next will be noticed the implied reflection upon the men who in Congress contended boldly for Freedom, as “extreme partizans” and “ambitious demagogues.”

Next, the approval of the base spirit of compromise, manifested by Congress, and so generally condemned by the better portion of the secular press. It is here commended as a “milder and more conciliating spirit.”

But the most striking feature of the article is to be found

in its last sentence ! “ However the sacrifices made may be regretted in themselves, no true lover of his country can otherwise than rejoice, if thereby the inestimable blessings of Peace, Union and Harmony shall have been secured.” Now when it is remembered what those sacrifices were—that they were sacrifices of Principle and Honor and Humanity—of thousands of square miles of free soil, and millions of the nation’s treasure, and the concession of a law for the safe keeping of slaves, the iniquity of which beggars description ; and when we remember that the “ inestimable blessings” which these sacrifices are said to have secured of “Peace, Union and Harmony,” are entirely illusory, existing only in the imagination, some adequate idea may be formed of the heartlessness and recklessness of principle manifested in this paragraph. And yet the article is published editorially in the reputed organ of the Orthodox Society of Friends, a Society which claims to be Anti-Slavery, and whose members are continually finding fault with the abolitionists, for the alleged unjust severity of their strictures. Between them and us let the public judge. Mr. Webster’s compliment and the above quotation is all we have to submit against them at present.

These facts, with our preceding general remarks, will give a tolerably fair idea of the position occupied by the religious bodies of this State, on the question of slavery. Of course it will be understood that in what we have said on this subject, we have been speaking in the gross, and that our language is not such as to exclude the idea of

HONORABLE EXCEPTIONS.

In all these bodies, we are happy to say, will be found individuals, and in some a large number, who are among the truest friends of Freedom. There are also some smaller denominations in the state, which are organized on distinctive anti-slavery principles, and which maintain their professions with more or less consistency. Among these is to be men-

tioned the REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, commonly known as the "COVENANTERS," and the "FREE PRESBYTERIAN," a new body lately constituted in the western part of the State, and in Ohio, by persons withdrawing from the Church, under the care of the General Assembly. This denomination is very zealous in the cause of freedom, and its influence west of the mountains is quite healthful. The UNITARIANS, though they take but little part in the anti-slavery controversy are nevertheless more liberal in their sentiments on this subject than most other religious denominations, and the influence which they exert is, we believe, on the whole in favor of human freedom. Much lustre has been shed upon this denomination by the independent and manly course of the Rev. WM. H. FURNESS, a gentleman who enjoys a distinguished position among his brethren in the ministry, and whose services in the cause of Humanity have of late years given him a wide reputation. Mr. Furness' admirable address before the December meeting of the members and friends of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, deserves to be mentioned as one of the interesting features of the year, while his later and more signal services at New York entitle him to a place in the grateful recollections of all true friends of Freedom every where.

OUR OPERATIONS DURING THE YEAR.

The plan of operation of this Society during the last year has been the same as in former years, and the details of it so nearly similar, as to make any minuteness of relation in regard to it almost superfluous. Our policy has been to enlighten the public mind and change the public sentiment. In pursuance of this policy we have published our newspapers and scattered tracts and other anti slavery publications through the community; we have sustained one or more lecturers in the field, and held occasional anti-slavery conventions; we have circulated petitions to Congress and the State legislature, and used such other instrumentalities as circumstances at the time may have suggested, or previous experience proved advisable.

Our Pennsylvania Freeman has continued to grow in favor and to widen the sphere of its usefulness. The National Anti-Slavery Standard—600 copies of which this Society pays for—has rendered us its usual quota of assistance. Other papers, such as the Liberator, North Star, Bugle, and Louisville Examiner, circulated by the indirect agency of the Society, have continued to be important instrumentalities in the promotion of the cause. Among the pamphlets distributed by the Society have been the address delivered by William H. Furness before the December meeting, and Thaddeus Stevens' speech of February 20th before the House of Representatives; a large edition of the latter was published for gratuitous circulation. The amount of money received by the Society, and the manner in which it was expended, will be seen by a reference to the Treasurer's report, which will follow in due course.

OUR AIM AND EXPECTATION.

On the whole our retrospect of the year is encouraging, and inspires us with fresh hope and confidence. Our faith in the line of policy pursued by this Society has received additional confirmation, and we believe is shared by many who formerly doubted its utility. Nothing it seems to us can be clearer than that no plan of anti-slavery action can be consistent or enduring which is complicated with the politics of the country, or acknowledges the obligations of the Federal Constitution. The idea of forming an anti-slavery political party under a pro-slavery compact is fast becoming exploded; its moral inconsistency being obvious and its inexpediency having been proved by every successive attempt to reduce it to practice. As to the American Constitution, whatever opinions may have been entertained in times past, its intent and meaning in regard to slavery can no longer be a subject of reasonable question. Whether interpreted by its own history, its recognized expounders, or the recent action of those whose business it is to reduce its provisions to practice, it is a Compact with in-

justice and a solemn league with oppression. The idea of abolitionists becoming parties to such a covenant or giving it their support is preposterous. Their only duty in reference to it is, to expose and denounce its iniquity and labor for its repeal. Every effort made in this behalf is an effort toward the abolition of slavery. It is vain to hope for the destruction of the system at the South as long as the North stands pledged to its support. Until the people of the North cease to strike hands with the slaveholder—till they rescind the bloody covenant which unites them, and withdraw all the effective support which they give to the system—slavery must live and flourish. To induce this withdrawal, to bring about a change which shall deprive slavery of its chief means of support, is the duty of abolitionists. This has been our business in times past—this is still our aim. The means which we employ for its accomplishment have already been indicated. Not by might nor by power, but by the spirit of Truth is this great revolution to be achieved. It is a moral not a physical revolution which we propose, and is to be accomplished by moral means. By the power of truth—by the resistless might of public opinion. Our expectation is by the diffusion of intelligence, by the spread of light on this subject, by unveiling the hideousness of slavery in all its aspects, to produce such a public sentiment as shall demand first the withdrawal of all support given to the system here in the North, and next the operation of such remaining measures as may be necessary for its peaceful abolition. Our past experience warrants the confidence that in the persevering and faithful use of these means our final success is inevitable. Let no one be discouraged as to the result. Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. In due time we shall reap if we faint not.

JAMES MOTT, President.

J. M. McKIM, Corresponding Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

EDWARD M. DAVIS.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

JAMES MOTT,
BENJAMIN C. BACON.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

J. MILLER MCKIM.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HAWORTH WETHERALD.

TREASURER.

SARAH PUGH.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS.

LUCRETIA MOTT,
ROBERT PURVIS,
MARY GREW,

MARGARET JONES,
CYRUS M. BURLEIGH,
B. RUSH PLUMLY,
ABBY KIMBER.

APPENDIX.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Pursuant to the published call of its Executive Committee, this Society convened in the Horticultural Hall, at West Chester, on Tuesday morning, October 15th, 1850.

Robert Purvis, President of the Society, called the meeting to order, and opened its proceedings by a brief and appropriate allusion to the present aspects of our cause and our encouragements to effort. Though it is true, he remarked, that the myrmidons of Slavery have plundered the National Treasury of ten millions of dollars, and have grasped a hundred thousand square miles of free territory, to convert it into a market for their human chattels ; though it is true they have defeated the attempt to bar slavery from the new Territories of the Nation ; and though they have also enacted the inhuman and atrocious Fugitive Slave Law, there was probably never a period in the history of our just and holy cause so promising as the present. Still strong in our faith, hopeful and cheerful, we meet on this beautiful autumn day, under this October sun, as bright as that when the "God-like Daniel" pledged New England to sustain the "Compromises of the Constitution."—We meet to repudiate those "Compromises" and seek the entire abolition of the system of cruelty and blood which they uphold. From a death-like lethargy we have awakened the American people to this question. Every where the nation is convulsed by the conflict between Slavery and Freedom. The quickened conscience of our nation is on our side. We cannot falter or despond, or fear defeat. It is only for us to persevere in duty, and success is sure.

The Recording Secretary of the Society being unable to attend, C. M. Burleigh was chosen Secretary *pro tem.*, and Ann Preston Assistant Secretary.

The following persons were appointed a Business Committee :

J. M. McKim, William I. Bowditch, Thomas Whitson, E. M. Davis, Mary Grew, William H. Johnson, E. F. Pennypacker.

A Nominating committee was also chosen, consisting of Sarah Pugh, Thomas Garrett, Chandler Darlington, John Vickers, and Mary Cox.

James Mott read a letter from Mr. Garrison, expressing regret at his inability to attend our Anniversary in consequence of recent domestic affliction.

On motion of J. M. McKim, it was voted, That all persons present or who may be present, during the sessions of this Society, whether friendly or unfriendly to its principles, be, and hereby are invited to participate in its discussions.

Mr. McKim remarked, that it was usual for us to extend the largest liberty to all opinions in our public meetings. Not that we court debate for the sake of debate. We speak frankly our own convictions, and wish that those who dissent from us should have equal freedom to explain and vindicate their dissent.

Mr. McKim took this occasion to say further, that unlike most other assemblies convened for similar purposes, it is not our custom to open our meetings with any set religious forms, while every person is at liberty to use them if he pleases. This is not that we have no desire for the Divine presence in our hearts and in our midst. On the contrary he believed that many hearts in that assembly longed for this presence with particular fervor at this time. Now that we are called to "weep with those that weep," and "remember those in bonds as bound with them," we feel the more the need of guidance from on high. The speaker feelingly alluded to the terror, anguish, and cruel hardships caused by the Fugitive Law among the people of color, showing that the Scripture injunction to "Weep with those who weep" was indeed no figure of speech. He narrated several painful facts illustrating the real danger to every colored man, and the alarm felt by all classes of them at the operation of this cruel law. These and other circumstances under which we gather, he concluded, give a deep and solemn interest to the present occasion, and make us desire that "wisdom from above, which is *first pure*, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

After brief remarks from some other speakers, the Society adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

TUESDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society met as adjourned. The President in the chair.

The Annual Report of the Executive Committee, containing an elaborate and valuable review of the progress and history of the Anti-Slavery cause during the past year, especially in this State, was read by J. M. McKim, and heard with an attentive interest by the large and crowded assembly.

A motion, by Chandler Darlington, to appoint a committee to procure the printing of the Report, if practicable, for circulation in this meeting, was lost after some discussion; the Society having been informed that the Executive Committee had already taken measures for its publication in a pamphlet, together with the proceedings of the Annual Meeting.

Wm. I. Bowditch of Boston followed in a clear and forcible speech, which was listened to with the deepest interest, stating and elucidating the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society, and especially defending its position relative to political action.

Parker Pillsbury occupied the remainder of the afternoon, in an able speech upon the great moral revolution in which we are engaged; showing its superiority to the Revolution of '76, and the necessity of a stronger virtue on the part of those who carry it on.

On motion it was voted, that the hours of meeting be *nine* in the morning, *two* in the afternoon, and *seven* in the evening.

The evening session was well attended, and was occupied by addresses from Edmund Quincy and Parker Pillsbury, and brief remarks from James Mott—all of which were listened to with a quiet and gratifying attention, by the numerous auditory.

WEDNESDAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Society was called to order by the President, and the minutes of the previous day was read by the Secretary.

The following letter by Francis Jackson of Boston, in reply to the invitation of the Executive Committee to attend this meeting, was read by the Secretary:

Boston, October 10, 1850

J. Miller McKim.

DEAR FRIEND:—I thank you for your kind invitation to attend the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

I regret my inability to be with you on that occasion. It would have given me much pleasure to have met the abolitionists of your Society, those noble men and women, who have banded themselves together, to seek and save those which are lost. That was the mission of the great Reformer; there was none higher, or more unpopular in his day; there is none in ours.

In our day, we have holy books, houses, ceremonies, compacts, and alliances; long faces, and silent pulpits we have to any extent; but long arms that will loose the chain, and lift the slave—how few. Arms there are, by thousands, that wield the slave driver's whip,—fire arms, and blood-hounds;—Reverend clergymen and honorable statesmen, cold and cruel, who have bound themselves with an oath to surrender to slavery innocent men and women,—an oath horrible to take, and far more horrible to keep;—Rulers we have, ordained of God, it is said, (what God?) enacting stronger chains, and heavier penalties, in derision of Christianity, and in defiance of the true God.

The Constitution of the United States, with all its crushing weight, is upon the breast of the slave, placed there knowingly and designedly, and the religious sects, and political parties are standing thereon, glorifying in their platform, and boasting of their fidelity to its wicked compromises.

We have twelve or fifteen hundred millions of stolen capital in men and women, legalized and protected, in the hands of thieves and adulterers, who rule the nation.

Abolitionists! can you stand erect, and fearlessly confront such mighty obstacles to freedom? Then are you the true representatives of the slave, whose chains must be melted down by the power of truth.

I congratulate the abolitionists everywhere upon the manifest progress of the Anti-Slavery cause; more especially do I congratulate those abolitionists who do not take oaths to support this piratical government, those who are not voluntary partners to enactments the most detestable, to wickedness the most concentrated.

It is written that "the righteous shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger."

FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Treasurer's report was then read as given below :

Pennsylvania State A. S. Society—Report of the Treasurer for the year ending 10th month 1st, 1850.

RECEIPTS.

Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society,	-	-	-	-	\$20.00
Philadelphia Female,	-	-	-	-	1000.00
Individual subscriptions,	-	-	-	-	1633.30
Churchill Houston; Legacy,	-	-	-	-	500.00
Interest on do.	-	-	-	-	120.00
Publishing Agent,	-	-	-	-	1809.60

\$5082.90

PAYMENTS.

Balance due Treasurer on last year's account,	-	-	\$98.07
Anti-Slavery Standard,	-	-	450.00
Pennsylvania Freeman, Tracts, &c.	-	-	2275.07
Interest on loans,	-	-	15.50
Salaries of Agents,	-	-	1718.14
Rent of Office,	-	-	223.75
Sundries,	-	-	251.62
			<hr/>
			\$5032.15
Balance on hand,	-	-	50.75
			<hr/>
			\$5082.90

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

Philada. 10th mo. 1st. 1850.

The undersigned having been appointed by the Executive Committee to examine the Treasurer's account, reports it correct, and that the foregoing is a true abstract of the Receipts and Payments, showing a balance in the Treasurer's hand on the 1st inst. of \$50.75.

HAWORTH WETHERALD, Auditor.

Philada. 10 mo. 1850.

The Business Committee reported a series of resolutions which were accepted for consideration, and after discussion and various modifications, were finally adopted as follows:

THE SIN OF SLAVERY.

1. Resolved, That American slavery is an outrage on the inalienable rights of man, a violation of all the laws of God, and a disgrace and a curse to this nation, and ought to be immediately and unconditionally abolished.

NATIONAL GUILT.

2. Resolved, That the American nation, by holding in bondage three millions of its population, while it proclaims itself "a refuge for the oppressed of all nations," "the freest government upon earth," "a model Republic," has convicted itself of unparalleled hypocrisy, and merits the contempt and indignation of the world.

THE CONSTITUTION.

3. Resolved, That the American Constitution, by its concession of extraordinary political power to the slaveholder, in the right which it gives him to represent three-fifths of his human property, by its pledge of the power of the nation to strike down the slave if he rises in arms for his liberty, and its provisions for his re-capture and restoration, if he

attempts to secure the same boon by flight, is a compact with injustice, and a league with oppression; and deserves to be repudiated and spurned by all true abolitionists, and all true men.

THE CHURCH.

4. Resolved, That the American Church, as a body, in the sanction and support which it gives to American slavery, by receiving to its communion tables and into its pulpits, the stealers of men; by its reproaches, excommunication, and persecution of those who plead the cause of the dumb, and him that hath no helper; by conferring its honors upon the oppressor, while it refuses to be a refuge for the oppressed; by allowing its members to vote and to be voted for under the Constitution of the United States, has proved itself utterly unworthy of the name of Christ, and ought not to be regarded or treated as Christian.

5. Resolved, That those portions of the church which, remembering those in bonds as bound with them, are striving to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the spoiler, and to purify themselves from all participation in slave holding, deserve an honorable remembrance in this evil age.

FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

6. Resolved, That the present Congress of the United States, has stamped itself with indelible infamy, by the passage of the fugitive slave bill, and that every member who voted for it, and any man who aids in its execution, is guilty of treachery to humanity, and treason against God.

7. Resolved, That as friends of the slave, and lovers of liberty and right, we are bound to repudiate and resist, by all righteous means, this infamous statute, and that we hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, to the flying bondmen, to our country, and to our God, that we will neither obey nor regard it; that, though fines and imprisonment be our only alternative, *we will not* "betray him that wandereth," nor "deliver to the master the servant who hath escaped from his master unto" us.

8. Resolved, That our warmest sympathies are with our persecuted brothers and sisters, in our midst, who are particularly exposed to the cruel workings of this bill; and that, although, according to the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and the practice of the great majority of professed christians, our colored friends are fully justified in resisting its execution by force of arms; this society recommends them to resort to Christian measures only, for deliverance out of the hands of their enemies.

9. Resolved, That the names of *Daniel B. Sturgeon* of the United States Senate: and *James Thompson, James X. McLanahan, Thomas Ross, Job Mann, Milo M. Dimmick, and John Robbins, Jr.,* of the House

of Representatives, ought to be placed on record as TRAITORS TO HUMANITY, and their characters held in detestation by all men, and especially by such as are interested in the honor and welfare of Pennsylvania.

10. Resolved, That this Society deeply and sincerely sympathizes with our generous and intrepid brother, Wm. L. Chaplin of New York, who is now incarcerated in a Maryland prison, because of his obedience to the promptings of Humanity and the injunctions of the Christian religion; and that we regard his arrest and imprisonment as another proof that justice, humanity and the rights of conscience are sacrificed in our National Capital to Slavery.

11. Resolved, That every motive and obligation which binds us to persuade our brother man to a true life, or to dissuade him from self-destruction, or any ruinous vice, equally binds us to persuade and assist him to escape from the brutalizing bondage of Slavery.

OUR MAIN OBJECT.

12. Resolved, That while we rejoice in the escape of every fugitive from Slavery, and in the opportunity to give assistance, shelter, and protection to all such fugitives, our chief and all important work is,—not to aid the escape of individual slaves, nor to prevent the extension of Slavery, but the immediate and total abolition of Slavery wherever it may exist.

13. Resolved, That every new outrage and every new demand and victory of the Slave power, is a new motive to us to press on in this great work, with fresh resolution and courage, until full success shall crown our efforts, and every slave is restored to Freedom and manhood.

PERSONAL DUTY.

14. Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery cause demands of every man and women in the community the co-operation of heartfelt interest and active and efficient aid according to his or her abilities.

THE FAIR.

15. Resolved, That we recommend to our friends to aid efficiently the Pennsylvania A. S. Fair, to be held in Philadelphia in December next.

FREE PRODUCE.

16. Resolved, That we recommend to all enemies of Slavery to abstain, as far as practicable, from the consumption of the productions of slave labor, as an endeavor after personal purity, and a testimony against the robbery of the slave by the slave-holder.

17. Resolved, That the efforts made by the Free Produce Associations for developing the resources which exist on this Continent and elsewhere for the supply of free goods, and to meet the increasing de-

mand for them, have our thankful acknowledgements, with our earnest wishes for their continuance.

COLONIZATION.

18. Resolved, That we regard the recent movements of Congress on the subject of Colonization, taken in conjunction with the new Fugitive Slave Law, as a most unmistakeable demonstration of the hatred of this nation to the African race, and a determination that the race shall not exist amongst us, except in the capacity of chattel slaves.

19. Resolved, That we rejoice in the unanimity with which the people of color have always opposed and execrated this wicked and most infamous scheme—and we hereby renew our unalterable testimony against it, and our unshaken determination to oppose and defeat its designs, by any and every means in our power, and that are sanctioned by wisdom and prudence, and that are in accordance with the laws and government of God.

ANTI-KIDNAPPING LAW.

20. Resolved, That as there is reason to apprehend that there will be a renewed attempt at the ensuing session of the Legislature to repeal the "Act to prevent kidnapping," &c., of 1847, the Executive Committee of this Society be instructed to use such measures in the way of prevention as in their judgment may be deemed necessary.

PETITIONS.

21. Resolved, That this Society earnestly request the abolitionists of the State to circulate petitions to Congress and the State Legislature, in favor of the various objects which we are laboring to accomplish.

JAMES FULTON, JR.

22. Resolved, That in view of his principles and services, and the earnest sincerity of their advocacy, we sincerely mourn the loss of James Fulton, Jr., from the scene of his useful labors, and sympathize with his relatives and friends in their bereavement.

On motion of Chandler Darlington, the resolutions were taken up separately for action. After a brief discussion, in which Chandler Darlington, J. M. McKim, Simon Barnard, Edward Needles, Rowland Johnson, and others participated, the first three resolutions upon Slavery, the guilt of the American nation, and the Constitution, were adopted.

The Church resolutions came up, and were discussed through the forenoon with much spirit, and the position of the leading sects of the country towards the anti-slavery cause was examined and exposed.

Mr. Pillsbury thought the resolutions not sufficiently pointed, and offered the following substitute, which he defended at considerable length, but withdrew at a subsequent session of the meeting.

Resolved, That the Government of this country, being in open rebellion and treason against the government of God, by its support of slavery, its slaughter of the Seminole Indians, its murder of 80,000 Mexicans, and seizure of a vast amount of their territory for slaveholding—the enactment of laws, with fearful penalties, against the highest, holiest, and plainest demands of Christian kindness and philanthropy—any Church that voluntarily supports that government, whose members vote in it, or are (with their own consent) voted for, is a scandal and libel on truth and goodness; a synagogue of Satan, an enemy of righteousness and of God, and as such, should be spurned as the most dangerous and fatal foe to the interests and happiness of man.

He thought that abolitionists should come out of bodies which upheld a war-making and slaveholding and man-hunting government, a government which sanctions piracy, and thus testify against them as unchristian and corrupt—though he had no complaint to make of them if they stayed to rebuke and reform them. In that case, however, if they were to do their duty, they would soon be cast out, or the church would reform its action. The discussion was continued by Thomas Hambleton, William Thorne, Dr. Hiram Corson, Thomas Whitson, and others. Dr. Corson opposed Mr. Pillsbury's substitute; he could not see the sinfulness of voting for honest and competent officers. If the act was so criminal, abolitionists ought not to encourage the Free Soilers, and to rejoice in their successes as they have heretofore done.

Thomas Whitson had no quarrel with Friend Pillsbury respecting the corruptions of the Church, nor did he fear the effect of plain speech. This large meeting was perhaps one result of our plain speech. He would have our rebukes as severe as truth. He believed that anti-slavery men had a field of duty and labor in the church; not for its quiet. They should go there to agitate, not for the sake of agitation; but that the troubling of the waters may purify them. He wished friend Pillsbury to have a little patience, and wait the working of the leaven, and not despair if the whole lump is not instantly leavened.

After a brief rejoinder from Mr. Pillsbury, showing the gross inconsistency of the Friends' Society, in excluding men for marriage while permitting them, unrebuked, to exalt slaveholders and man-killers to high offices, the society adjourned to afternoon.

WEDNESDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the appointed hour James Mott, as Vice President, took the chair, and the discussions on the Church resolutions was continued by Thomas Whitson. He said the Anti-Slavery Society had sought no conflict with the church,—we sought to enlist the pulpit as well as the press, but met opposition and reproaches where we should have found sympathy and support. We were forced to collision, and to tell unwelcome truth of them. The severest thing, however, was that we proved what we said.

The Church question was then laid on the table, and the question of finance was taken up. A finance committee was chosen, consisting of C. M. Burleigh, Edward Webb, Alice Jackson, Rebecca Plumly and William Lloyd.

Before the opening of the finance discussion, Mr. Bowditch addressed the Society in a calm argument, and eloquent speech, in support of the following sentiment, which he presented as a text:

“That those persons in the Free States who give any voluntary support to the Constitution of the United States are slave-holders and idolaters.”

Mary Grew then moved the adoption of the resolution upon personal duties, and advising active aid to the cause, (No. 14) and sustained it in a thrilling appeal to the hearts of the audience, urging the claims of the anti-slavery cause upon every person in the community.

At the request of E. M. Davis and the call of the audience, Sarah A. McKim sung “The Blind Slave Boy,” remarking as she rose, “I cannot speak for the slave, but I will try to sing for him.” The beautiful song was received with subdued feeling and moistened eyes by the immense assembly, and touched the chord of sympathy in many hearts present. While the Financial Committee passed through the meeting, taking subscriptions and pledges in aid of the Society, remarks were made upon the subject by Thomas Whitson, P. Pillsbury, Amos Gilbert, and several others. Thomas Whitson proposed that 200 persons should pledge \$10 each, to be paid during the year into the Society’s treasury, following his suggestion by a pledge for himself to that amount. Several persons responded with similar pledges.

The resolutions upon the Fugitive Slave Law, (6, 7 and 8,) were then taken up, and after stirring and eloquent speeches from Robert Purvis, Edmund Quincy and others, the 8th was referred to the Business Committee for modification of its language, and the 6th and 7th were adopted by a numerous vote. The 8th resolution was subse-

quently reported again, and passed to its present form by a strong vote.

The Church resolutions were again taken up and discussed until the hour of adjournment. Simpson Preston stated that the Methodist Clergyman of West Chester was present, and had denounced the statements concerning the pro-slavery position of the church, made by several speakers as false and slanderous, and the speakers themselves as infidels and blasphemers, and requested that the clergyman be invited to come forward and publicly substantiate his assertions, and show any errors of fact or principle in our assertions. It was replied that a general invitation had been extended to all persons to participate in our deliberations, and that the clergyman would, of course, be welcome to avail himself of that invitation. He, however, with more discretion than magnanimity, declined attempting to support his assertions in the presence of the speakers he had privately and unjustly assailed. Whether his courage will return to him when he has the field entirely to himself, time will tell.

On motion, the question of Free Produce was made the order of the day at the opening of the meeting to-morrow morning, when the Society adjourned.

WEDNESDAY—EVENING SESSION.

The Society again convened, the hall being crowded to its full extent by an audience, the great body of whom were eager to hear. Among them, however, were "a few rude fellows of the baser sort," who had been stimulated by false reports to come and vindicate the abused church and injured politicians, by breaking up the meeting; but the frowns and disapprobation of the prominent citizens of West Chester, and the prompt interference of the authorities, checked that spirit at its first manifestation, and the meeting continued without interruption and with increasing spirit to a late hour.

At its opening the President took the chair, and the church resolutions (4 and 5) with Mr. Pillsbury's substitute, came up.

J. M. McKim expressed his preference for the original resolution, believing them strictly true and sufficiently severe.

Mr. Pillsbury replied in a speech marked with great power and a stern and solemn denunciation of the religious bodies which pass by the slave and strike hands with his oppressors. He urged all abolitionists to testify against such bodies by leaving them. He contrasted the ease-loving, worldly Quakerism of this day, with the sturdy Quakerism which shook two continents with its mighty deeds and words of fire, in the days of Fox and Penn. William Penn's words and life

were a rebuke to the Quakers of this time. He wrote a book under the name of "No Cross, no Crown." If that sentiment be true, what hope has modern Quakerism? It has no cross to bear. There was a time when to be a Quaker exposed one to reproach, buffeting, stripes, imprisonment and death; and now the name encounters no persecution. The broad brim and the drab coat are everywhere the passport to respectability. Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster, and Gen. Cass can eulogize the Quaker Society now, and quote them as endorsers of their treachery to man and practical atheism. They support the government in its robbery of God's poor children, and join hands with the cruellest tyrants and bloodiest homicides to elevate slaveholders and warriors to office.

Mary Grew objected to the substitute that it was not true or just. She would be as harsh as truth and stern as justice, but would not condemn the innocent with the guilty. The necessity of rebuke to the church was too clear for doubt. It calls itself the light of the world, claims that a belief in its doctrines are necessary to salvation, and leaves three millions of heathen to perish in our midst. Episcopal and Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches, all join hands with slaveholders, as christian brethren, and honor them as reverend apostles, while they profess to have no fellowship with sinners or unbelievers; they can denounce dancing as a sin, marrying a deceased wife's sister as incest, but they have no word of censure for the slaveholder. We only apply their own principles to them in our rebukes: out of their own mouths are they condemned. When you think that abolitionists are too severe, sit down and ask what the church is. Think of the language of its pulpits—its prayers for the success of the Mexican war, and its diabolical defenses of slavery; think of its action—its selling its own members like horses, to build its temples or buy its communion service. You say you are not guilty of such deeds, but are you not striking hands with those who are? If you hold no slaves, are you not supporting slavery at the polls? What is the difference in morality between holding slaves yourselves and appointing others to hold them for you?

The Friends claim to bear a testimony against slavery and war, but with what face can they answer those queries when coming from the ballot box where they voted for Zachary Taylor?

On motion, it was voted to limit the speakers during the remainder of the evening to TEN minutes.

Chandler Darlington thought the speakers who had condemned voting under the government, had not made any distinction between voting to reform evils, and voting to support them. It was true that

the Constitution was defective, but it could be amended only by voting.

Rowland Johnson said that many friends of the slave were not prepared to leave the Church. They felt that they had a duty to do there, and were trying to do it, and thus far were encouraged to persevere. Our friend Thomas Whitson is himself an illustration of the utility of this course. Through his labors and those of others who agree with him, his Monthly Meeting has been brought to take high anti-slavery ground. Had he left his meeting instead of working in it, where would it now have been? Those who will act upon the church directly, must be in it, for they will not hear those who are not members in their meetings. Our beloved friend, Lucretia Mott, whose absence from this meeting, in consequence of ill health, we all so deeply regret, is another example of the benefit of working within the church. She is creating there an anti-slavery sentiment which will yet reform the whole body.

This debate was continued with great spirit and a growing interest, till a late hour, by Edmund Quincy, Dr. Stebbins, Robert Purvis, Wm. I. Bowditch, Chandler Darlington, Abraham Shadd, James Mott, P. Pillsbury and Simpson Preston. Mr. Pillsbury withdrew his substitute, and No. 4 was adopted; No. 5 being postponed till the next day, when it also passed by a hearty vote.

THURSDAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Society convened, with a large attendance at 9 o'clock, James Mott taking the chair. After brief remarks by Nathan Evans, yesterday's minutes were read by the Secretary.

Mrs. Tyndale addressed the meeting, urging the importance of making our anti-slavery an abiding principle, and cultivating the spirit of love, and also encouraging every one to pacific action as the only sure hope for reform, and to persevering and hopeful efforts each in his peculiar sphere. Parents should teach their children to regard colored children as their equals, to sympathize with them, to pity the poor and ignorant, try to instruct and relieve them. This we owe to ourselves and our children as well as the injured class.

It was decided that the Society should finally adjourn at the end of this session.

The following Free Produce resolutions, together with the resolution No. 17, commending the action of Free Produce Associations, were then called up, and after considerable discussion, resolution No. 16 was substituted for the following, and they unanimously passed as contained (16 and 17) in our list.

1. Resolved, That we are morally bound to disconnect ourselves from any unavoidable support of slavery.

2. That the consumption of the products of slave-labor is a support of slavery—essential to it—and which may be usually avoided.

3. That every man is naturally entitled to the products of his toil, and that to deprive him of them by the force of slavery is to perpetrate a robbery upon him; and that in such case the receiver of the spoil occupies the same moral position with the immediate agent of the robbery.

These resolutions were supported by Samuel Rhoades, Abraham L. Pennock, Amos Gilbert, and Thomas Whitson. Some objections were offered to them by Edmund Quincy, who stated that as a matter of taste and feeling he sympathised with the friends of Free Produce, though he did not regard it as a matter of principle. At his motion resolution No. 16 was adopted as a substitute for the resolutions above.

The resolutions on Colonization (18 and 19) were then read, and after an eloquent speech in their support by Robert Purvis, were unanimously adopted.

The nominating committee presented their report of officers for the ensuing year, which after the substitution of the name of B. C. Bacon, in place of A. L. Pennock, at the request of the latter, was adopted as follows—Robert Purvis having declined a re election as President:

President—Edward M. Davis.

Vice Presidents—James Mott and Benjamin C. Bacon.

Corresponding Secretary—J. Miller McKim.

Recording Secretary—Haworth Wetherald.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Additional Members—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Margaret Jones, Cyrus M. Burleigh, B. Rush Plumly, Abby Kimber.

James Mott introduced to the audience Mr. Lapierre, from Indiana, who with several of his neighbor abolitionists—for the crime of hospitality to the stranger and mercy to the unfortunate—has recently been stripped of all his property, by a decision of the United States Court, under Judge McLean. After the exhibition of his certificates of character and letters of introduction, Mr. L. came forward and briefly told the tale of the legal outrage upon himself and neighbors, for a deed of compassion to fugitive slaves. His house and all his property—the accumulation of years of labor—had been sold by the Marshal, still leaving a heavy fine hanging over him; yet he rejoiced that he had done the deed for which he was thus called to suffer;

for he felt that it was *duty*, and the fugitives he had helped were *free*. He had come to the East to ask of the humane people here some aid to himself and associates, who had been stripped of their all. His simple story and unaffected appeal were listened to with strong evidences of sympathy for the sufferers, and indignation against the inhuman laws and law executors, that had thus beggared industrious and generous men for an act of mercy.

The following resolution offered by Parker Pillsbury was passed without discussion :

Resolved, That John McLean, of Ohio, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, by his flaming zeal in deciding fugitive slave cases in favor of the tyrant and ravisher, and against the victim and the ravished, and so ruining by heavy fines and costs many of the most humane and benevolent men in the nation, as well as hurling back to the woes of slavery those who at every peril have escaped, deserves to have his name enrolled high on the scroll of everlasting infamy, with a Jeffries of England, or Nero on the throne of Rome.

The resolution on the church, laid over from yesterday, (No. 5,) was taken up and adopted.

The resolution of censure, (No. 9,) against the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress who dishonored the State and their own manhood, by voting for the Fugitive Slave Bill, was passed by a unanimous AYE, that made the roof to ring.

The resolution of sympathy for the persecuted people of color, and for Wm. L. Chaplin, (Nos. 8 and 10,) were also carried by a unanimous vote. The resolution upon our main object, &c., (Nos. 12 and 13,) upon the anti-kidnapping law, and petitions, (Nos. 20 and 21,) the notice of James Fulton, Jr. (No. 22,) were adopted separately and without debate. That upon the anti-kidnapping law is the substance of a series referred for action to the State Society by the Chester Co. Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of Mary Grew, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Robert Purvis, for the impartial, dignified and satisfactory manner with which he has discharged the duties of his office during the five years that he has been its President.

Mr. Purvis responded in a brief and eloquent speech, strong in the hope of our ultimate victory, and concluded with the following oft-quoted but thrilling lines :

"Let tyrants hold while tyrants can,
 The blood and bones of living man;
 Let tyrants scorn while tyrants dare
 The shrieks and writhings of despair;
 The end will come, it will not wait,
 Bonds, yokes and scourges have their date;
 Slavery itself shall pass away,
 And be a tale of yesterday."

The following resolution was proposed by J. M. McKim, and passed unanimously :

Resolved that the acknowledgments of this Society are due to the citizens of West Chester for the courtesy which they have extended to us during the session of this meeting.

Mary Grew presented from the Business Committee the following resolution, which after brief remarks upon it by the mover, was unanimously passed :

Resolved that a review of our past labors, difficulties, defeats and triumphs, and a view of the prospects of our enterprise, inspire us with the strongest hope and faith that Slavery, being a lie, is doomed to perish; that Man being endowed by his Creator with liberty, shall regain his birthright; that our Cause being the cause of God, is destined to complete and glorious victory.

At this point in the meeting, as it was about to adjourn, a quaint broad-brim was seen coming through the crowded aisle, and in a moment Isaac T. Hopper ascended the platform, and was received with an enthusiastic greeting from the audience, while many friends crowded around to grasp the hand of the veteran philanthropist.

Friend Hopper responded to the cordial greeting of the assembly in a short speech, recalling past incidents in the progress of our cause, denouncing the Fugitive Slave Bill as an emanation from the lower pit, expressing the full conviction that it cannot to any great extent be executed, and encouraging all hearts to hope on and persevere in our great work for Liberty and Right.

The Society then adjourned *sine die*, the brief presence and parting benediction of the old man causing a general joy, and giving new cheerfulness to the parting already made happy and hopeful by the success of our meeting.

C. M. BURLEIGH, Secretary.